

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 291570 TOSEC 310272

67

ORIGIN IO-13

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 SSO-00 CCO-00

NSCE-00 /044 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:RAPECK:MR

APPROVED BY P:PCHABIB

NEA;ALANEA:ALATHERTON

S/S-RPERITO

- - -

S:HCOLLUMS

----- 042040

O 300250Z NOV 76 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 291570 TOSEC 310272

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SC, XF

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: SECURITY COUNCIL REMAINS
DEADLOCKED ON UNDOF RENEWAL (S/S NO. 7624638)

-

REF: TOSEC 310184

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM IO-LEWIS AND NEA-ATHERTON THROUGH
P-HABIB

1. THE PROBLEM:

THE SECURITY COUNCIL FAILED TO REACH AGREEMENT IN INFORMAL
CONSULTATIONS TODAY ON THE TEXT OF A RESOLUTION EXTENDING
THE UNDOF MANDATE, WHICH EXPIRES AT MIDNIGHT, NEW YORK
TIME, NOVEMBER 30. OUR EARLIER BRIEFING MEMORANDUM TO
YOU (SECTO 310184) PROVIDED THE TEXT OF THE NEW LANGUAGE
PUT FORWARD BY THE NON-ALIGNED. ISRAEL HAS REFUSED TO
ACCEPT ANY CHANGES FROM THE SIMPLE EXTENSION RESOLUTION
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 291570 TOSEC 310272

OF LAST MAY. DINITZ HAS ASKED OUR HELP IN KEEPING OUT
ANY ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE AND HAS ASKED THAT THIS BE
BROUGHT TO YOUR ATTENTION. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT EITHER
SYRIA OR ISRAEL WANT TO PUT UNDOF IN JEOPARDY,BUT WE

NEED YOUR GUIDANCE ON WHAT COURSE TO PURSUE TO MINIMIZE
DAMAGE WITH EITHER PARTY.

2. BACKGROUND:

AT THE CLOSE OF THE SECOND ROUND OF INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS
TODAY SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT ILLUECA SCHEDULED FURTHER
CONSULTATIONS FOR 11:00 A.M. TUESDAY, TO BE FOLLOWED BY
A FORMAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL IF AGREEMENT IS REACHED
ON A TEXT. ILLUECA COMMENTED THAT THE CONSULTATIONS
MIGHT BE MORE PRODUCTIVE IF THE PARTIES HAD TIME TO GO
TO THEIR CAPITALS FOR INSTRUCTIONS. DESPITE OUR PRODDING,
ILLUECA HAS NOT ACTIVELY WORKED TO BRING THE PARTIES
TOGETHER--EVIDENTLY BECAUSE HIS SYMPATHIES LIE WITH
SYRIA IN THIS CASE.

3. AMBASSADOR DINITZ CALLED ROY ATHERTON TODAY TO SEEK
OUR HELP. ATHERTON EXPLAINED THAT WE WERE TELLING
ILLUECA IT WAS UP TO HIM TO WORK OUT A RESOLUTION
ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES AND THAT IN EFFECT WE WERE
RESISTING HIS EFFORTS TO GET US TO PRESS ISRAEL. DINITZ
ASKED IF WE COULD GO A STEP FURTHER, AND TELL ILLUECA
THAT LAST SPRING'S RENEWAL RESOLUTION WAS THE
ESTABLISHED PATTERN AND SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED. HE ASKED
THAT ILLUECA FURTHER BE TOLD THAT THE US BELIEVED NO
DRAFTING WAS NECESSARY AT ALL AND THAT THE MAY 1976
RESOLUTION SHOULD SIMPLY BE UPDATED. SO THAT THERE
WOULD BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING, DINITZ ASKED THAT WE TELL
YOU THIS APPROACH WAS ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM JERUSALEM
TO APPROACH THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE USG.

THE PRESENT DRAFT OF THE EXTENSION RESOLUTION (ATTACHMENT
1) HAS ALREADY BEEN CUT BACK SOMEWHAT FROM THE TEXT
SENT YOU LAST WEEK IN ORDER TO MEET ISRAELI OBJECTIONS.
IT IS SIMILAR NOW TO THE TWO MOST RECENT UNEF AND
UNDOF RESOLUTIONS (ATTACHMENTS 2 AND 3) AND IS SUB-
STANTIVELY UNOBJECTIONABLE.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 291570 TOSEC 310272

4. OPTIONS:

IT IS MOST LIKELY THAT THIS WILL WORK ITSELF OUT, AS IT
HAS IN THE PAST. HOWEVER, WE COULD GO INTO INFORMAL
CONSULTATIONS TOMORROW STILL THOROUGHLY DEADLOCKED.
AT THAT POINT WE HAVE A NUMBER OF OPTIONS:

A. NEGOTIATE OVER THE NON-ALIGNED DRAFT: SHOULD WE
ADOPT A NEGOTIATING POSTURE IN TOMORROW'S CONSULTATIONS,
WE COULD PROBABLY SUBSTANTIALLY PARE DOWN THE LANGUAGE
OF THE NON-ALIGNED DRAFT. WE COULD SET AS A TARGET
THE PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE IN LAST MONTH'S UNEF RENEWAL
RESOLUTION WHICH THE ISRAELIS FINALLY ACCEPTED. THE

ISRAELIS MIGHT WELL BE ANGRY, BUT IN THE END THEY WOULD PROBABLY ACQUIESCE BECAUSE THEY HAVE NO DESIRE TO SEE UNDOF LAPSE OVER A MINOR ISSUE SUCH AS THIS. THEY WOULD PROBABLY ARGUE THAT THIS WOULD SET A BAD PRECEDENT WHICH COULD ENCOURAGE THE SYRIANS NEXT MAY TO PUT FORWARD CONDITIONS FOR RENEWAL WHICH WOULD BE TRULY POLITICAL IN NATURE. ONE POSSIBLE VARIATION ON THIS COURSE WOULD BE TO ADOPT A RESOLUTION SUCH AS THE ISRAELIS DESIRE, BUT HAVE THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT, ON BEHALF OF COUNCIL MEMBERS, DRAW SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THOSE PARTS OF THE SYG'S REPORT WHICH THE NON-ALIGNED FAVOR (THE ISRAELIS HAVE THEMSELVES UNSUCCESSFULLY PUSHED THIS IDEA).

B. TABLE OUR OWN TEXT. WE COULD TABLE A BARE-BONES RENEWAL RESOLUTION, SIMPLY EXTENDING UNDOF FOR SIX MONTHS. WE CANNOT PREDICT WHAT THE NON-ALIGNED WOULD DO IN THIS CASE OTHER THAN TO FOLLOW SYRIA'S LEAD. THE SYRIANS MIGHT WELL ACCEPT IT FOR THE SAME REASON THE ISRAELIS PROBABLY IN THE END WOULD ACCEPT SOME OFFENSIVE LANGUAGE: NEITHER SIDE WANTS TO SEE UNDOF LAPSE. THE SYRIANS WOULD NOT BE PLEASED (IT APPEARS EVIDENT NOW THAT THEY ARE BEHIND THIS MANEUVERING), BUT THEY HAVE NOT PUBLICLY ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH THE NON-ALIGNED INITIATIVE AND THEREFORE RETAIN THE FLEXIBILITY OF BACKING-DOWN GRACEFULLY.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 291570 TOSEC 310272

C. CONTINUE TO BACK THE ISRAELI POSITION, BUT PERMIT THE COUNCIL TO PASS THE NON-ALIGNED DRAFT IF IT IS PRESSED TO A VOTE. WE MAY BE FACED TOMORROW WITH THE CHOICE OF ABSTAINING ON OR VETOING A RESOLUTION TO WHICH ISRAEL HAS NOT AGREED. IF WE ABSTAIN, WE WOULD EXPLAIN TO THE ISRAELIS THAT WE HAD DONE OUR BEST, BUT IN THE END DECIDED THAT CONTINUATION OF UNDOF WAS AN OVERRIDING INTEREST WHICH COMPELLED US TO GO ALONG WITH THE COUNCIL MAJORITY.

D. VETO A NON-ALIGNED DRAFT UNACCEPTABLE TO ISRAEL. THE ISRAELIS WOULD PROBABLY BE DELIGHTED WITH SUCH A SHOW OF DETERMINATION ON OUR PART--THOUGH THEY HAVE NOT SPECIFICALLY ASKED US TO VETO. WE COULD FOLLOW UP IMMEDIATELY BY TABLING A BARE-BONES RESOLUTION. WE CANNOT PREDICT AT THAT POINT WHETHER THE SYRIANS AND SOVIETS WOULD GO ALONG WITH US. WE WOULD HAVE TO FACE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE COUNCIL COULD FAIL TO PASS ANY RESOLUTION AND THAT THE MANDATE WOULD LAPSE. IN THIS EVENT, WE BELIEVE THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WOULD DECIDE TO LEAVE THE FORCE IN PLACE FOR A PERIOD OF TIME

IF THE COUNCIL MADE IT CLEAR THIS WAS ITS DESIRE.

5. RECOMMENDATION:

WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD MAINTAIN OUR PRESENT POSTURE--
AT LEAST THROUGH THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONSULTATIONS
AT 11:00 A.M. TUESDAY--AND CONTINUE TO URGE ILLUECA TO
BROKER A SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE NON-ALIGNED.
AT THIS POINT, THE SITUATION IS TOO FLUID FOR US TO
GIVE YOU A CONFIDENT RECOMMENDATION ON WHAT COURSE TO
FOLLOW SHOULD ILLUECA'S EFFORTS ONCE MORE FAIL TO BEAR
FRUIT. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, APPRECIATE ANY GUIDANCE YOU
MIGHT WANT TO GIVE AS TO WHICH OF THE ALTERNATIVES MIGHT
BEST BE FOLLOWED IN THE EVENT ILLUECA FAILS. WE MAY
HAVE TO BE IN TOUCH WITH YOU BY PHONE DURING THE COURSE
OF TUESDAY.

ATTACHMENTS:

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 291570 TOSEC 310272

1. DRAFT EXTENSION RESOLUTION
2. UNEF RESOLUTION
3. UNDOF RESOLUTION

6. DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:RAPECK; APPROVED BY P:PCHABIB;
CLEARED BY IO:SWLEWIS, NEA:ALATHERTON; S/S:

ATTACHMENT 1

BENIN, GUYANA, PAKISTAN, PANAMA, ROMANIA, AND UNITED
REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA: DRAFT RESOLUTION

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING CONSIDERED THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON
THE UNITED NATIONS DISENGAGEMENT OBSERVER FORCE
(S/12235),

HAVING NOTED THE EFFORTS MADE TO ESTABLISH A DURABLE AND
JUST PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AREA AND THE URGENT NEED TO
CONTINUE AND INTENSIFY SUCH EFFORTS,

NOTING FURTHER THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S VIEW THAT "DESPITE
THE PRESENT QUIET IN THE ISRAEL-SYRIA SECTOR, THERE CAN
BE NO QUESTION THAT THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST WILL
REMAIN UNSTABLE AND POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS UNLESS REAL
PROGRESS CAN BE MADE TOWARDS A JUST AND LASTING SETTLE-
MENT OF THE PROBLEM IN ALL ITS ASPECTS",

EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER THE PREVAILING STATE OF TENSION
IN THE AREA,

DECIDES:

(A) TO CALL UPON THE PARTIES TO IMPLEMENT IMMEDIATELY
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338(1973);

(B) TO RENEW THE MANDATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS DISENGAGE-
MENT OBSERVER FORCE FOR ANOTHER PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS,
THAT IS, UNTIL 31 MAY 1977;

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 291570 TOSEC 310272

(C) TO REQUEST THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO SUBMIT AT THE END
OF THIS PERIOD A REPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENT IN THE
SITUATION AND THE MEASURES TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT SECURITY
COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 (1973).

ATTACHMENT 2 - RESOLUTION 396 (1976)

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS 338 (1973), 340 (1973), 341
(1973), 346 (1974), 362 (1974), 368 (1975) AND 378 (1975),

CONFIDENTIAL

HAVING CONSIDERED THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON
THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE (S/12212),

HAVING NOTED THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SITUATION IN THE
MIDDLE EAST (S/12210),

RECALLING THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S VIEW THAT ANY RELAXA-
TION OF THE SEARCH FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT
COVERING ALL ASPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM COULD BE
DANGEROUS AND HIS HOPE THAT URGENT EFFORTS WILL BE UNDER-
TAKEN BY ALL CONCERNED TO TACKLE THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM
IN ALL ITS ASPECTS, WITH A VIEW BOTH TO MAINTAINING QUIET
IN THE REGION AND TO ARRIVING AT THE COMPREHENSIVE
SETTLEMENT CALLED FOR BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN ITS
RESOLUTION 338 (1973),

NOTING THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL RECOMMENDS THE
EXTENSION OF THE MANDATE FOR ONE YEAR,

1. DECIDES

(A) TO CALL UPON ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO IMPLEMENT
IMMEDIATELY SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 (1973);

(B) TO RENEW THE MANDATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY
FORCE FOR A PERIOD OF ONE YEAR, THAT IS, UNTIL 24
OCTOBER 1977;

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 291570 TOSEC 310272

(C) TO REQUEST THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO SUBMIT AT THE
END OF THIS PERIOD A REPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
SITUATION AND THE STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT SECURITY
COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 (1973);

2. EXPRESSES ITS CONFIDENCE THAT THE FORCE WILL BE
MAINTAINED WITH MAXIMUM EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY.

ATTACHMENT 3 - RESOLUTION 390 (1976)

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING CONSIDERED THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON
THE UNITED NATIONS DISENGAGEMENT OBSERVER FORCE
(S/12083 AND ADD.1),

HAVING NOTED THE EFFORTS MADE TO ESTABLISH A DURABLE AND
JUST PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AREA AND THE DEVELOPMENTS

CONFIDENTIAL

IN THE SITUATION IN THE AREA,

EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER THE PREVAILING STATE OF TENSION
IN THE AREA,

DECIDES:

(A) TO CALL UPON THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO IMPLEMENT
IMMEDIATELY SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 (1973);

(B) TO RENEW THE MANDATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS
DISENGAGEMENT OBSERVER FORCE FOR ANOTHER PERIOD OF SIX
MONTHS;

(C) TO REQUEST THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO SUBMIT AT THE
END OF THIS PERIOD A REPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
SITUATION AND THE MEASURES TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT SECURITY
COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 (1973).

DRAFTED:IO/UNP:RAPECK
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 291570 TOSEC 310272

APPROVED:P:PCHABIB
CLEARED:IO:SWLEWIS
S/S:RPERITO
NEA:ALATHERTON
S:HCOLLUMS

ROBINSON

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 15 SEP 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, POLICIES, VOTING, BRIEFING MATERIALS, UNSC RESOLUTIONS, INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
Control Number: S7624638
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 NOV 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE291570
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IO/UNP:RAPECK:MR
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D760442-0902
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197611100/baaaequc.tel
Line Count: 328
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 JUN 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16 JUN 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <07 OCT 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ACTION MEMORANDUM: SECURITY COUNCIL REMAINS
TAGS: PFOR, SC, XF, UNDOF
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006